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A CHRISTMAS SONG

Scrape the fiddle and bang the drum
This is the wise delirium!

Flight of seed and flame of sod,
Every mother is Mother of God!

Touch the harp with a gentle hand,
Babes and beasts will understand.

Riot of rain and life begun,
Every cradle holds the Son!

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PEACE WITHOUT JUSTICE IS NO PEACE

PEACE — DISARMAMENT — PEACE — TOTAL DISARMAMENT — PEACE — COMPLETE DISARMAMENT — PEACE ON EARTH — GOODWILL TO ALL MEN — TO CHRIST, TO BUDDHA, TO LAO TSE — TO MARX. TO THE PROPHETS OF PEACE YESTERDAY, TODAY, AND FOREVER, AMEN.

BUT CHRIST, BUDDHA, LAO-TSE, and all the prophets of peace have said that there can be no peace without justice. JUSTICE COMES BEFORE PEACE. IN FACT JUSTICE IS A COMPONENT OF PEACE. Therefore to demand peace is to demand justice. SO WHEN WE SAY PEACE WE MEAN JUSTICE.

Otherwise Khrushchov need not have tested his 50-megaton bomb. He need not test any bomb. He need have no bombs. He could just as well surrender to the peace of capitalism which is a false peace, a peace of terror and death.

A few years ago when the USA had a monopoly of the bomb and when the USA used its monopoly against defenceless women and children at Nagasaki and Hiroshima, and when the USA was busy testing the bomb in various parts of the world, involving the death and sickness of innocent fishermen, THERE AROSE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD A DEMAND FOR PEACE. Millions of people signed petitions of peace, but do you remember what happened? Those petition-signers were ostracized by the 'good respectable' people as Reds, as Soviet-lovers, as people on the wrong side of the cold war.

But now the shoe is on the other foot. Suddenly it has become a monstrous crime to test bombs. The USSR is called callous, unfeeling, contemptuous of public opinion, because it insists on testing half as many bombs as the USA has already tested. Is it possible that the USSR is playing chess or practising judo? Supposing it was desirable to create a world anti-bomb climate, a world peace climate, perhaps the quickest and most effective way to create such a climate would be for the USSR to carry out a series of tests so that it would become fashionable and respectable to oppose all tests, in fact so that it would become respectable to reverse the whole trend towards war, to call a halt to the cold war, to disarm, and to make genuine world peace. This makes sense of the Khrushchov tactic.

Remember: peace without justice is no peace. As long as there remains a heart of justice in the world just so long will men fight for justice; for justice is the arm of mercy and love, and mercy and love abide at the heart of the universe. Without them this universe would fly to pieces.

If the USSR and the USA were equalized in nuclear power then we could rest assured there would be no nuclear war. But the USA is

ahead in the nuclear race. Therefore the USSR was compelled to test her weapons in order to close the gap of USA leadership. When the USA took the lead, she tested. She was not compelled to test because she was not under the whip of competition. The USSR *is* under the whip. She must test or surrender. Some would like her to surrender; because they are under the illusion that the USA protects the weak, aids progress, helps democracy. If this were true we might be satisfied to have the USSR play second fiddle to the USA; but the opposite is true.

Now at last there may have been enough testing to bring about equalization. If so, then a moratorium on testing makes sense, but while one side remains behind in the race that side will be compelled to test. In this case by one side we mean the USA and Britain and France and by the other side we mean the USSR. With both sides equal and therefore war outdated, in other words with the mutual recognition by both sides of the impossibility of war, there would at the same time be the recognition of the futility of shelters and the utter foolishness of civil defence. God was not generous when he made his allotments of commonsense to mankind. If we had been given enough of that commodity we could save a few thousand billion dollars and rubles and francs and pounds for constructive purposes and we could save this generation the torment of leukemia and monstrous births.

THE JEWS AND THE CHRISTIANS

By JEAN PEPIN

Translated by Kenneth Leslie from Le Monde, Feb. 4, 1961

The story of the relations between Jews and Christians has made considerable progress since the last war. The way was opened in 1948 by the masterly study of M. Simon, *Verus Israel,* which went back to the Roman Empire, between 135 and 425. This work was followed by several others. In 1955, M. L. Poliakov released the first volume of a *History of Antisemitism,* he there viewed the fate of the "ashkenazis" or Jews domiciled in Christian territories (as distinguished from the "sephardis" who lived in Moslem lands), from their beginnings right up to the 18th century, time of the "Hofjuden" to whom the sovereigns of central Europe appealed for help in their money troubles. In 1956 M. J. Isaac retraced the *Genesis of Antisemitism* from the time of Rameses II to the year 1000: following Simon, he observed in Christian antisemitism a theological base, and consequently a systemic character which made it particularly virulent and distinguished it profoundly from the antisemitism anterior to Christianity.

M. B. Blumenkranz had studied the literature of the fourth and fifth centuries and distinguished two principal reasons for the Christian hostility: on the one hand an active Jewish proselytism was working in the pagan mass and found itself thus in competition with the Christian mis-

sionary effort, leading of course to irritation: on the other hand after the advent of peace for the Church a quite lively Roman patriotism took hold of the Christians driving them to exalt the victory of Rome over the rebelling Jews, and, by blaming the Jews, to clear the Romans of all responsibility for the death of Jesus.

More recently B. Blumenkranz picks up the story at the year 430 when Augustine died and follows it through to 1096, the beginning of the Crusades. It is limited to the Christian west.

What documents inform us as to the conditions of the Jews in the space and time thus delimited? There are first the Christian texts of antiJewish polemics which we must use with caution owing to their peculiar nature; then there are the juridical dispositions, both ecclesiastical and civil. To these two sources Blumenkranz adds a third: archival documents dispersed in cartularies and other registers, tedious to dig through but rich in information.

Conducted according to these principles the investigation reveals not only antagonism between Jews and Christians; there are also reports of good neighborliness: Jews and Christians speak the same language, often bear the same names and the same costume, work at the same trades, live in the same quarters (not yet the Ghetto), have much intercourse in their daily lives as well as in the intellectual realm.

As for the preceding centuries it was missionary rivalry that excited the conflicts: for the numerical increase in the Jewish communities cannot be explained entirely by the increase in the birthrate or by migrations; Judaism made new converts among the pagans, indeed even among confirmed Christians. Necessarily the Jewish mission hurt the Christian mission: it also sometimes became impure: for to force conversion the Jews sometimes used violence against the little people over whom they held economic power. From this missionary competition stemmed the traits of Jewish-Christian polemics. Often fierce they gave way nevertheless to disinterested intellectual debates and manifested in their way the vitality of spirit in the high Middle Ages. Finally, the law is perhaps the only area in which there is a constant hostility to the Jews, reaching the point of complete forfeiture of rights, with its consequent atrocities; again Blumenkranz observes that the condition of the Jews at this time was, while far from being happy, a privileged one when compared with times which preceded (end of the Roman Empire) and especially with later times (the Nazis).

Moreover, to appreciate properly the attitude of the Christians to the Jews we should view it in a larger picture and compare it to the Christian attitude to other non-Christian groups: the pagan masses of Germany, Islam, old heresies re-invigorated such as the manichees etc. When one thinks of the savagery which stained with blood, up to the end of the eighteenth century, the evangelization of Saxony, or the perpetual exile with which Pope Leo the Great struck all the manichees of Rome,

in the fifth century; set in this context the misfortunes of the Synagogue while not lessened are seen to constitute no exception during these centuries of iron.

Without Judaism there could not have been Christianity. Nothing is surer or better recognized by Christian theology. Before giving its title to one of Leon Bloy's controversial works, the formula "salvation comes from the Jews" had been written by Saint John (4:22) who was considered the most hostile to the Jews of all the apostles. When Pope Pius XI, justly praised by Isaac, declared that "spiritually we are semites" he echoed a profound intuition of Saint Augustine: We are Jews, not after the flesh but after the spirit. The New Testament presents itself not as a condemnation but as a completion of the Old Testament: all the attempts to downgrade the latter (gnostics, Marcion) have been severely repressed by the Church.

Isaac was completely right then to conclude that "Christianity in its essence excluded antisemitism." How then explain that militant antisemitism characterized so many Christians, so that Fathers of the Church as respectable as Gregory of Nyssa, John Chrysostom, Augustine, were given to it passionately? Were they then acting like Christians, so that one could say that "antisemitism has Christian roots"? To understand this calls for two observations. On the one hand it will profit nothing to deny that Christianity rests in great part on the fact that it outreached the Jewish religion: the people of Israel was first chosen by God, but they were unable to respond to this vocation and had to yield the torch to another people for whom it had been destined in the beginning: numerous passages in the New Testament, notably the parables, remain incomprehensible outside this perspective. Christianity is inconceivable without Christ crucified. It is impossible, as Saint Paul said, to do away with the cross of Christ. One can *historically* play down the role of Jews in the crucifixion and build up that of the occupying Romans: *theologically,* however, it remains true that it was the Jews who killed Jesus, and it couldn't be otherwise. (See John 12:37-40).

Is this to say that a theological view such as the imputation of deicide to the Jewish people is enough authority among Christians to make them practice antisemitism? In a fashion: it doesn't take much thought to understand that a notion like deicide having left its trace in history strangely goes beyond history; it is a notion above all religious. But the *theological* conception of deicide can in no degree legitimately inspire a behaviour *empirically* antisemitic. It is not debatable that in fact the memory of deicide has served as an excuse for most *pogroms;* but this was at the cost of a monstrous falsification. On the other hand the Christian tradition had early applied to the fact of the crucifixion the classic distinction of different kinds of causes. Peguy is in agreement with the catechism of the council of Trent when he writes that "it was not the Jews who crucified Jesus, but our sins: and the Jews, while being the instrument, participated like the rest in the fountain of salvation", a formula which J. Isaac rightly holds as the expression of authentic Christianity.

It is clear that the blind antisemitism of too many Christians has brought them lower than the nails in the cross of the crucified brought Caiaphas. One must go further: deicides must accomplish their own salvation; it is to the honor of the Jewish people to have been chosen as the instrument of Calvary, by an election more mysterious than that of Abraham, but not less real, and identical to it in its depth.

The roots of antisemitism then are only Christian insofar as they are untrue to the essence of Christianity. By the same token we must seek them elsewhere, in an unavowable inclination, in a mythical appearance as old as humanity. It flows over the borders of Christianity; it preceded it in Egypt and Persia. Even as practised by Christians antisemitism pursued everything *but* the Jewish religion. Blumenkranz recalls in this regard that, forced to conversion by the Visigoth kings and having become almost all Christian, the Jews of Spain remained no less the objects of hate, of segregation, of suspicion. In fact antisemitism is not only anterior to Christianity but it is, without any paradox, found in Judaism itself; for it is antisemitism that creates the Jew; the definition of of the Jew lies less in his race or in his religion than in the situation of culpability which the non-Jews assign to him. We may recall the conclusions of Sartre in his penetrating *Reflexions sur la question juive;* they have just been repeated by M. J. Fetjo in another form, whimsically offbeat: "God is antisemitic". Moreover this essential point has not escaped J. Isaac, as witness this apostrophe: "Impenitent theologians, beware of bringing God into this: human villainy is enough."

HOW ABOUT THOSE WESTERN RIGHTS TO ENTER BERLIN?

By LOUISE HARDING

Dr. Frederick L. Schuman wrote, in his "Soviet Politics at Home and Abroad" (p. 552), that at Potsdam, June 5, 1945, it was agreed to effect "complete disarmament and demilitarization and the elimination or control of all German industry that could be used for military production", also to "destroy the Nazi party and its affiliates" and prevent "all Nazi and militarist activity or propaganda."

Prohibited was all German manufacturing of arms, munitions, aircraft and sea-going ships.

Since Washington now claims it was impossible to carry these provisions into effect because of Russian bad faith, it is all-important to remember that when James Stewart Martin was sent to Germany in 1945, to see that this was accomplished, he found, on arriving in London, Col. Graeme K. Howard ensconced there as Director of the Economic Division. Howard had written (1940) an apology for the Nazi economic system, called *America and a New World Order.* Complaint being made about Howard, his place was taken by Gen. William H. Draper Jr., on military

loan from his job as secretary treasurer of Dillon Reed and Co., the main firm to float German bonds after World War One enabling Germany to rearm. "It soon became obvious," writes Martin (p. 165), "that someone in our Economic Division at Berlin not only disagreed with the official Washington policies on cartels and combines, but also had communicated that disagreement to Sir Percy Mills and others in the British element."

After a severe struggle, Martin and his co-workers found themselves completely defeated in their efforts to compel obedience to the order of the State Department. Gen. Clay (Chapter 19) slammed his fist on the table, March 17, 1948, and almost all members of the Decartelization Branch felt compelled to resign (others were cut off later), because work conditions had been laid down which made their task impossible, since Clay accepted the memo of Richardson Bronson exempting from reorganization all enterprises in the field of capital goods and heavy industries. (Later, Clay was named a director of Herbert Lehman's investment bank.)

Said Martin, "After two and a half years, I came back from Germany quite well aware that I had been wrestling with a buzz saw. We had not been stopped in Germany by German business, we had been stopped in Germany by American business."

May 1, 1946, the splendid investigator, Howard W. Ambruster, tells us in his "Treason's Peace", (p. 408), that former Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau broadcasted a denunciation of the State Department policies on elimination of Germany's war potential which included this:

"We have failed to de-industrialize Germany. . . . If it is Mr. Byrnes' intention to scrap the Potsdam pact and allow Germany to remain industrially powerful, then I prophesy that we are simply repeating the fatal mistakes of Versailles, and laying the foundation for World War III."

On March 25, 1948, writes Martin, when Rep. George S. Sadowski of Michigan referred to the "nineteen courageous men and women" of the Decartelization Branch who had asked Gen. Clay to clarify the cartel policy in Germany, Maj. Gen. George P. Hays, Deputy Military Governor in Germany, asserted, "Mr. Sadowski may consider them courageous but I consider them disloyal employes who should be treated accordingly." Later, Clay tried to apologize for his deputy's remark, "but the disloyal label continued to dog the tracks of all nineteen. . . . What had been announced as a law to bring about decentralization of the German economy, and to end the power of the heavy industry trusts and combines, was almost overnight transformed by verbal order into a law for limited policing of business practices, with no fundamental change in the business structure to be policed. Not only was the main job left undone, but public servants were damned for having tried to do it."

Whatever agreement was made concerning access to West Berlin by the Allies is thus seen to have been founded on essential conditions that have not been carried out by them.

BEAUTY

Beauty is something you can weigh in scales
And wrap up into parcels, it is known
Not well in dreams, in evanescent tales
Of misted rapture, of bugles faintly blown.
'Tis meat as well as music, from the ground
It grows up in a tree, stands in a wall.
The earth belongs to beauty, it is earth-bound,
Seen, heard, touched, tasted, or not known at all.
I found it first and best in father's store,
Measuring yards of calico, weighing out nails,
Sprawled among nets and cod-lines on the floor,
Venturing cut-brier, rifling candy-pails.
Beauty was mother's porridge in a bowl,
Milk, oatmeal, and molasses built my soul.

K.L.

In his long-ago wanderings (it must have been 20 years or so) your editor happened to speak to a group in the Wheeler bookshop in Washington, and he will never forget the hospitable Wheelers (George and Eleanor and family). Now the Wheelers are Americans of the Jefferson, Lincoln tradition, the kind that makes one proud to be called American. Just as the American Negro slaves escaped to freedom in Canada, so many Americans today seek freedom to be themselves in foreign lands. That's how it was with the Wheelers who live, work, and bring up their children in Czechoslovakia, closely integrated with the life and work of that socialist country. Through the years Eleanor has sent news of these venturers in the new land, latest of which tell of one Thomas Abbott Wheeler being joined in matrimony to one Jarmila Vojtechova which evokes the sincerest good wishes from all our readers.

George is an agronomist and economics teacher and has several books to his credit; he has been the recipient of state prizes and awards. Eleanor is a translator and editor, and has written numerous articles in the American press on life in Czechoslovakia. Chiefly to be remarked are her warm-hearted motherliness and the honest candour of her approach to socialism. The experience of this family is more important than a whole library of theoretical books on the new life. We wish its story could be given to the world.

CUBA

By Ed Turner

(The following article is taken from the *Catholic Worker,* April, 1961)

At the very onset of the success of the Castro rebellion the American Government opposed it. On February 11 of this year testimony of William D. Pawley, ex-U. S. Ambassador to Peru, before the U. S. Senate Internal Security Sub-committee on September 2, 1960, was released. He testified that six weeks before Fulgencio Batista's government had fallen to Fidel Castro's rebels, he had discussed the Cuban situation at his Miami home with then Deputy Assistant State Secretary William Pennell Snow, ex-Assistant State Secretary Henry Holland and J. C. King of U. S. Central Intelligence Agency. He suggested that Batista be persuaded to step aside for a caretaker government.

As a result of the talks, he was sent to Cuba, and met Batista December 9, 1958. He convinced Batista he should turn over his government to a military junta of "Batista enemies" to oppose Castro's rebels and should take asylum in the United States. The junta was to have been made up of: Cols. Barquin and Barbonnet and General Diaz Tamayo. But the Revolution was too penetrating to be shunted aside.

In April 1959 Castro and some economic advisers came to the United States to explain that they were dead serious about their land reform program. From this point on, the barrage of anti-Castro propaganda began in the U.S. press. It takes no wise man to figure out what was at stake—a billion dollars of U.S. investments. No one can seriously believe that the Department of State was disenchanted because "Castro is a dictator." It has been doing business with dictators consistently since World War II. It has never in that period criticized Chiang Kai-shek because there are no opposition parties in Formosa, or because there is no opposition press, or because the leader of the opposition is now in jail. It is not squeamish about Franco; in fact it has given him more than a billion dollars. It has tolerated and decorated many dictators: Somoza, Perez Jiminez, Syngman Rhee, Menderes, to name just a few. It has formed alliances with many dictatorial countries that also have no elections, no free press, no civil liberties: Pakistan, Thailand, Nicaragua, Haiti, and so on. The grand offensive against Casttro by the U.S. cannot be explained, therefore, in terms of humanitarianism or concern for democracy.

When the Cubans finally "intervened" and then nationalized the sugar industry, the United States protested. American refining companies cut back on oil. The Cubans purchased Russian oil for about 60c less a barrel. The refineries refused to process it. The refineries were nationalized. From this point, the situation deteriorated, unchecked. The U.S. cut the sugar quota; Cuba nationalized some more American firms; the U.S. responded by eliminating Cuban sugar entirely; Cuba, to preserve its small foreign exchange, nationalized the rest of American holdings;

the United States imposed an embargo on sales to Cuba; eventually diplomatic relations were ruptured entirely.

Counter-Revolutionists in Miami

The United States must fight, if necessary, to throw the "communists" out of Cuba. Such was the burden of a speech of Mr. Spruille Branden, former U.S. Ambassador to Cuba and former Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs, made on January 2 of this year. He advocated, first tell the O.A.S. to do something about Cuba or we will be forced to unilateral action. The first step would be to break off relations, then recognize a responsible Cuban government-in-exile, give this government arms and money, invoke a "pacific" blockade of Cuba "to take care of trading with Communist nations" and continue "guidance" of the new regime after the "Communists" are "driven out of Cuba". If speedily carried, such a program would spare the Cubans "a horrible blood bath." Such is evidently, in the light of present developments, the continuing policy of the American Government.

Counter-revolutionaries are free to operate out of Miami with financial backing of Americans and Cubans whose properties were confiscated by the Castro government and from C.I.A. funds, which later set up the base at Retalhuleu in Guatemala. On March 22 a Provisional Government was set up in New York headed by Dr. Jose Miro Cordona, who is well spoken of and respected as an honest man. The backing is from two groups of counter-revolutionaries. One, The Democratic Revolutionary Front, headed by Manuel Antonio de Varona, more trusted by the monied backers of counter-revolution but joined by many others because he does have this financial support. The other, The Revolutionary Movement of the People, whose co-ordinator is Manuel Ray, has an effective underground movement in Havana. Ray had till this time been regarded as too leftist by the others, for Fidelismo without Fidel. Finally on April 3rd the Kennedy Administration gave this group a *carte blanche* to set up any kind of an organization in Cuba and they will have full American backing.

Because American enterprises are free to practice rapacious exploitation in Latin America, which because of the voting rights of workers in this country they are not allowed to do here, any attempt of any Latin American country to achieve freedom and independence and stop the exploitation of its people will be labeled communist. The role of the Communist Party in Latin America and of the Communist nations is to keep them afloat and independent while they throw off the American yoke. If the Communists take over completely it will be only because free and independent America will have refused to acknowledge the independence of these nations.

(Most of the factual material in this article is taken from "Which Way Cuba?" by Sidney Lens in the March issue of *Fellowship* published by The Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, New York.)

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

From our associate-Editor:

I think that Wm. Gallacher says better than I can say how much your writing and witness means to a puzzled world.

You will understand me when I say that New Christians are on the way. It is indeed remarkable that in spite of ??? "Welfare" and much unreason and pride there are adventurers among young and old who seek joyfully what you proclaim. In my old age I refuse to think that TRUTH is or can be bottled up by any self-appointed majority or minority.

This old man is asked to write his memoirs. About my fifty years ministry in the Church of England. Recently the new Archbishop of Canterbury sent me such a kind message, with his blessing. . . . It is THE WORD MADE FLESH that we so badly need. It is that WORD for which so many, young and old, are longing. "Life more abundant" is so obviously not being provided by those who are seeking safety first.

This age needs challenge.

Your loving friend, John Tunnicliffe,

179 Whitehouse Common Road, Sutton Coldfield, Warwickshire, England.

From Minnesota:

I have received several issues of the New Christian and I have read each one from cover to cover. It is without doubt one of the best informative tracts I've ever had. It is clear-cut on important issues, and if more widely read by church-goers I'm certain it would do more good than the ranting of so many ministers about what terrible people the communists and socialists are.

In vol. XIII no. 9, I see our former Gov. Elmer A. Benson is a supporter of the New Christian. It was my good luck to be business and circulation manager of the Farmer-Labor paper, The Minnesota Leader, during Mr. Benson's term in office. He was then and he is now a very wonderful person. I am proud to have been associated with him. . . . Billie Williams, colored secretary of the Front Office in the State Capitol Building for over 30 years, now retired, told me when Benson was Governor that Mr. Benson was the most honest man ever to occupy the Governor's office during his term as secretary.

Respectfully and fraternally yours,
Clinton W. Lovely.

From Boston:

Warm thanks and praise for your poem on the martyred Congo leader (Lumumba). You have composed it for us all, including the Congolese themselves. Please let the enclosure herewith express something of my appreciation. In affectionate comradeship.

Eliot White.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

From Indiana:

It is a joy to receive this little periodical. I wish I could send more and that it could come oftener. It would be so fine if you could give us more about the *new* christian. We go to the Methodist Church and Sunday School. The people are devoted and sincere and we enjoy association with their fine spirit. But so much time is given to prayers, rituals, God worship, Jesus dying for our sins. We claim to be followers of one of the world's great teachers and his wisdom and understanding were never more timely and more needed than today but almost no attention is given to his teachings.

I look forward to the time when the Russians and the Chinese will embody these teachings in their practical use of all the world's philosophers giving due credit to Jesus along with all the others. Our own churches seem to fear a full approach to Jesus. This is what I would like to see as your approach and contribution to the New Christian.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ruth H. Ashley, Wabash, Indiana.

From South America:

The journal (New Christian) must be unique from its refreshing style, approach and content.

I have been tempted to reproduce some articles from it; I thought it however best to ask your permission first.

Allow me to wish the New Christian happy fortune and to yourself best regards.

Fraternally,

Moses Bhagwan, Freedom House,
Georgetown, British Guiana.

From Czechoslovakia:

When I was translating at the Town Hall and the Director of the Children's Hospital said that they had practically wiped out polio with oral vaccine of all up to 15 (now going up the age scale) I was reminded of the dreadful story from Germany. A catastrophic epidemic in the North Rhineland and Westphalia regions, with 420 cases and 22 deaths by a week ago. The German Democratic Republic had almost no cases, and the few were extremely mild (four in Czechoslovakia in the last year, so mild that there were no after-effects) and offered to send oral serum free to the distressed areas. This was turned down as a propaganda move, though some of the big-bugs have sent for the serum for *their* children. Even medical personnel in West Germany have spoken up in indignation.

Eleanor Wheeler, Prague.

THE USA'S McCLOY

By LOUISE HARDING

In the early part of 1950, Howard W. Ambruster had published in the N.Y. Daily Compass an article under the heading, *"McCloy's Return Puts Spotlight on Reich Policy"*, commencing,

"Demand in the House of Representatives introduced by Adolph Sabbath (D-Ill.) for investigation of our occupation policies in Germany brought quick results. Almost immediately came the return of the High Commissioner John J. McCloy for 'consultation' with the State Dept. . . . the long suppressed State Dept. report to the Senate admits the failure of the denazification program. But nevertheless, the Department's pressure on the Senators, plus objections of Chairman Tom Connolly, effectively bottled up demands for such an inquiry, filed with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee many months ago. . . .

Some time back, this reporter pointed out that McCloy was exercising dictatorial power in Germany. On the record it appeared that both Secretary and the President were permitting their subordinate in Germany to make policy to suit himself.

Confirmation of this improper delegation of authority appeared in the U.S. News and World Report last week. From British sources, according to that weekly, came news that McCloy had bluntly asserted that it is he, and not the State Dept., who makes U.S. policy.

The German Political Affairs Division of the State Dept. declined to reply to questions put by this reporter. Several have to do with the peculiar part being played by the New York law firm which has been representing I. G. Farben and its affiliates in the courts of this country, (Farben was also represented by John F. Dulles), Cravath, Swaine and Moore. McCloy, Chester McClain, his chief counsel in charge of decartelization, and Benjamin R. Shute, his chief intelligence officer, all came into government service, after the war began, from this law firm.

It was Shute, too, who was engaged by the State Dept. some months ago to 'process' applicants for positions on McCloy's staff. . . . This unusual method of picking U.S. occupation employes took place at the Cravath law office, 15 Broad St., New York City.

. . . Acheson's man (in State) admitted it was not the U.S. government which paid Shute for these important services. But the German Political Affairs Division won't say who did pay Shute.

. . . (They also declined to say) what statute or executive order authorized the selection of government employes at the Cravath office; and whether any applicant was rejected because he opposed restoration of Germany's cartels. . . ."

A press notice, Jan. 2, 1961, says:

"President-elect John F. Kennedy today named John J. McCloy,

former Allied High Commissioner in Germany, to be his chief adviser and policy planner in a new drive for world disarmament. McCloy is a Republican and a former Assistant Secretary of War." . . . In order to take the post "McCloy has just resigned as chairman of the board of the Chase-Manhattan bank in New York" (Rockefeller; international oil).

—From the Ambruster article we see who is representing "us" in these positions of tremendous importance abroad, when the most horrible destruction looms up ahead as a possibility for each and every one of us. *Clay and McCloy represent the real government of USA today*—but do you ever hear the numbskulls at political conventions yell—"We want Clay! We want McCloy!"?

CRISIS IN USA

By HARRIET W. PATTERSON

On Monday, Sept. 25th, the Rochester, N. Y., Democrat & Chronicle carried an article with a sensational headline, "U. S. REDS START HIGH COURT WAR." It affirmed that the recent National Assembly for Democratic Rights in New York City was a "propaganda drive to FORCE the Supreme Court to reverse its decision . . . upholding the Smith and McCarran Acts." (Emphasis added.)

I ask you, are 1200 or more people gathered at the Arena so mighty, or is the Supreme Court so weak and spineless, that it will do their bidding? The language used by the special service writer seems hysterical and smacking of McCarthyism. No new organisation was set up; the keynote was activation; we were urged to return home and work for civil liberties through already existing groups.

The Assembly had been sponsored by a large number of prominent persons as a "single action gathering", and that is what it was. Many of those present belong, as I do, to peace and religious groups, and we have found in our work that many people are so intimidated that they are afraid to sign a petition or attend a meeting. We did not meet to pull chestnuts from the fire for those so-persuasive Communists; we were moved by the necessity to defend ourselves. We know that thought control leans on persecution and once it is started by the state against any group it will spread and spread. Hitler's career taught us this if it taught us anything.

Martin Niemoeller's career is a clear example. A distinguished submarine commander during the war he later turned to theology and became pastor of a wealthy Lutheran parish. An ardent nationalist and anti-Communist he even joined the Nazi party. He was unconcerned by the suppression of the Communists or the persecution of the Jews, but when the totalitarian regime seized control of the Lutheran Church Niemoeller,

with Catholic aid, organized a strong religious opposition, to Hitler. Arrested, tried, convicted, he was sent to the notorious prison camp at Sachsenhausen. As you know Pastor Niemoeller and his wife visited this country a few years ago and they both spoke in Rochester.

Some of us remember the shocking pictures at Eastman House of Nazi murder camps taken by Bourke-White as Americans moved in after the German collapse.

Two distinguished people who served the Assembly as temporary chairmen are the Rev. Lee H. Ball and Dr. Louise Pettibone Smith. The first is a Methodist clergyman and the Executive Secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, an unofficial body founded in 1907 to study social problems and promote action "in the spirit of Jesus." He is also editor of their monthly "Social Questions Bulletin." A man of wisdom, knowledge and devotion, he commands attention, however quietly he speaks.

The second chairman, Dr. Louise Pettibone Smith, was professor of Old Testament History in Wellesley College for 38 years. As scholar, orator, reporter, social actionist she is outstanding. In 1936 she visited Nazi Germany to study relations of church and state under Hitler. In '46 she worked for UNRRA in a Greek refugee camp near Gaza in Palestine, teaching young Greek girls how to care for the ailing. Her great interest and work now is the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. She has written the story of the fight over a period of twenty-five years for the rights of both aliens and naturalized citizens. (Dwight-King, '59) Her book is called *Torch of Liberty*. On her latest trip to Europe she visited several countries of the Russian bloc to get an idea of religious and general conditions. She quoted a Lutheran bishop in Hungary who said to her, "The Communist Party is Atheist and no Christian can join, but when I see what this government is doing for children and workers, I co-operate with it. Socialism is the way of the future and we can be *Christian* socialists."

Who can deny we are living in an age of crisis, that is an age of danger on the one hand, of opportunity on the other. The danger is war and the possible end of life on the planet. The opportunity is to end poverty in the foreseeable future. To do it we, the people now living, should have to foreswear war and use the world's wealth, manpower, inventive and organizing genius so as to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, succor the sick and spread the light of knowledge all over this world. This, I take it, is the brotherhood of man, of which we hear so much, especially on Sunday.

BOOKS

Robert Whitaker was a brave true man and a fine poet. His poetry has been gathered and published by his wife, Claire, entitled "the Prayers and Meditations of Robert Whitaker," (Vantage Press, 120 W. 31st St., N. Y. 1, N. Y.) We are deeply in her debt for this beautiful book, from which we shall quote generously from time to time. Religious? Yes, but in no narrow sense; his religion embraced the world and all religions:

As lands on lands depend,
    As winds and waters meet;
So may our tribal fictions end,
    The world one world complete.

One household of exchange,
    One board, one brotherhood;
No brother to his brother strange,
    No good a selfish good.

In 1943, one year before his death, Robert Whitaker performed a notable service for the Protestant. He also wrote for us a definitive article, "The Ultimate Protestantism", in which he delineated Jesus as the "supreme pro-testant of the ages who dared to make the Last Judgment itself an everlasting arbitrament on the side of the uttermost democracy." In the same issue we published his letter to the National Conference of Christians and Jews rejecting their protest against Conrad Meyer's "Root of Anti-Semitism." This was a courageous act, besides being an act of friendship which this writer shall never forget. Whitaker was an all-round man, a singer, a preacher, a doer. To him, as to his fellow-countryman, Harry Ward, the United States owes much. Here is a burst of magnificent angry song:

THE MAGNIFICAT

One song, and but one song we have of hers,
    She so revered and loved through ages long:
    Hers the Magnificat, that buoyant song
That every rebel of the ages stirs.
Strange, is it not, her wonted worshippers
    Can be so patient with the prosperous wrong,
    While her high protest clamors like a gong,
Or horses thundering to the biting spurs?

"He hath put down the mighty from their seat,
    "And hath exalted them of low degree:
"Likewise He giveth to the hungry meat,
    "And from the rich withholdeth good things, He."
No fawning ritual, no dead dogma that!
Go, read again Mary's Magnificat!

BOOKS

FREEDOM: PROMISE AND MENACE, published by the Social Science Institute, Harborside, Maine, is the latest piece of analysis from the brain of Scott Nearing, one of the wisest counsellers of our time. Professor Nearing shows the relation between freedom and restraint in periods of social change. In these days of much talk of the Free World, Free Enterprise, etc., this book is good medicine. Western civilization has girdled the planet with colonies and dependencies, holding the peoples in the bonds of exploitation, building wage slavery under the slogans of Freedom and Liberty. Now, under the same slogans, the West is joining hands with illiberal regimes all over the world in an attempt to frustrate communism and socialism, thus increasing the coercive elements therein. For there is no such thing as absolute freedom, always a mixture of freedom and restraint. As society moves out into new ways the proportion of freedom for the individual grows less. After society has settled down in a new status the individual can acquire more freedom, but today there is a false and misleading cry for freedom when the desiderata for the birth and growth of a new society are various forms of restraint.

"In the population-wealth-power concentrations which bulk so large in the present age, increasing numbers of individuals cry 'freedom' at every crossroads. The western world pays lip service to freedom, but is under countless pressures of multiple plans, directives, controls, regulations and restraints aimed either at the increase of wealth in the hands of the few, or aimed at security, stability and the extension of the general welfare. In any case the urgent human need is not greater freedom, but a crusade led by a dedicated minority to perform tasks that demand knowledge, training, experience and disciplined group action. Freedom is not enough."

An excellent thought-provoking book, the fruit of the truly dedicated life of one of the finest social philosophers alive.

My very dear friends, Mr. and Mrs. Wrege, have sent me the well-documented denunciation of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, entitled *The Un-Americans,* by Frank Donner. A sad tale indeed!

According to Donner the HUAC's whole purpose from the beginning has been exposure and intimidation. He quotes Dr. John A. McKay, president of Princeton Theological Seminary and moderator of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S., who says that the HUAC is the "20th Century American version of the 16th Century Spanish Inquisition." Exposure and intimidation. Of what? Of anything in the nature of social improvement, racial equality, planned economy, public ownership. So it moved from city to city, leaving a trail of suffering, bullying its victims, driving some even to suicide. Truly a horrifying story!

U.S. COLONIALISM

By Hugh B. Hester

Brigadier General, U.S. Army (Ret.)

(A Letter to The Christian Science Monitor)

111 Forest Wood Drive
Durham, North Carolina

Your recent editorial "Unwitting Colonialists", meaning the people of the United States, I assume, is excellent and timely. Unfortunately it does not tell enough of the story about our government's colonial activities or about colonialism itself.

Saipan, the Marshall, the Mariana and Caroline Islands are technically held under trusteeship by the U.S. Government. However, according to my information, members of the U.N. Trusteeship Council have not been permitted to inspect these islands until very recently because of U.S. security regulations.

For all practical purposes, it would appear that these islands are controlled and owned by the U.S. Government without any outside supervision just as are the colonies of the colonial powers. Even more disturbing is the case of the Ryuku Islands which includes Okinawa of World War II fame. These islands became a part of the Japanese Empire in 1879. They too are now controlled, owned and operated as a colony of the U.S. And what of Formosa which is clearly a part of China? This was agreed at Cairo, in 1943, confirmed at Potsdam, in 1945, and Formosa was returned to China under the terms of Japan's surrender in the fall of 1945. For all practical purposes Formosa now is also a colony of the United States. Chiang Kai-shek only exercises nominal control through the courtesy of the Seventh U.S. Fleet.

How can the U.S. Government square these colonial acquisitions and policies with either the Atlantic Charter or the Charter of the United Nations? Isn't our government in violation of both? If it relies on the right of conquest, then the Soviet Union was clearly within its rights to put down the rebellion in Hungary, in 1956. But even the right of conquest does not cover Formosa, for China was not at war with the U.S., as Hungary was, 1941-1945, with the Soviet Union.

Perhaps of even greater importance to the people of the U.S. is the fact that colonialism assumes many forms. Economic control of a country can be as effective as, and often more profitable than, actual physical occupancy. It is in the practice of this type of colonialism that the U.S. "power elite" has demonstrated its greatest skill. In

this sense the United States is now the greatest colonial power and has been since World War II.

Unless the people of the United States are told this they will never be able to understand the great suspicion and fear of the U.S. Government and its corporate associates, so general throughout the underdeveloped parts of the world. A short trip to Latin America by any perceptive observer is all that is required to drive this fact home. Revolution in Cuba was necessary because of tyranny and abject poverty. All of Latin America is now ripe for it. U.S. military missions and weapons cannot delay it much longer.

Cuba is a small country, with a favorable climate, rich soil and many minerals. Why were three-fourths of her people, before Castro achieved power, employed on the average of only four months of the year? Why was another quarter permanently unemployed? Why are two-thirds of her people illiterate in any meaningful sense of that term? And why has one-half of her people, until now, never known a medical doctor as such? The answer to all of these, certainly in part, is rapacious capitalism: domestic and foreign. Candidate Kennedy stated this with charity and emphasis in a speech at Cincinnati, Ohio, October 6, 1960 (N.Y. Times, Oct. 7, 1960): Castro does not have to export revolution, terrible econnomic conditions are doing it for him.

According to the mass "information" media of the West, capitalism is being challenged throughout the world. Kennedy as President, as distinguished from Kennedy as candidate, now blames the world's woes on the "Communist conspiracy". Certainly he has considerable company in this. But what are the facts? After more than two centuries of capitalism, two-thirds of the human race are still hungry, naked and homeless, without proper medical care or education. Is this the product of communism? Hardly, for all these conditions even in more acute form, existed prior to the Soviet revolution, in 1917.

What then are the causes of this worldwide revolution against the status quo? The enemies of man, in my considered judgment, are primarily: poverty, ignorance and bigotry, and in that order of importance. For the dispossessed the only rights that have any meaning are the rights to work, food, shelter, clothing, education and adequate medical care.

Unless and until the leaders of the status quo recognize these basic facts and begin in earnest, and soon, a massive attack upon the causes of man's maladies instead of the symptoms as presently, nothing can save the capitalist West. You cannot kill an idea with bullets and you cannot destroy poverty by military means.

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